1

A QUARTER CENTURY OF GRIM AND VICTORIOUS STRUGGLE

NEO LAO HAKSAT

Laos

N° 1

CONTENTS

★ *Foreword*

★ *Appeal of Prince Souphanouvong on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence of Laos (October 1945).*

★ *A quarter century of grim and victorious struggle (by Kaysone Phomvihane)*

★ *Some geographical and historical data on Laos*

★ *Main facts and events in Laos.*

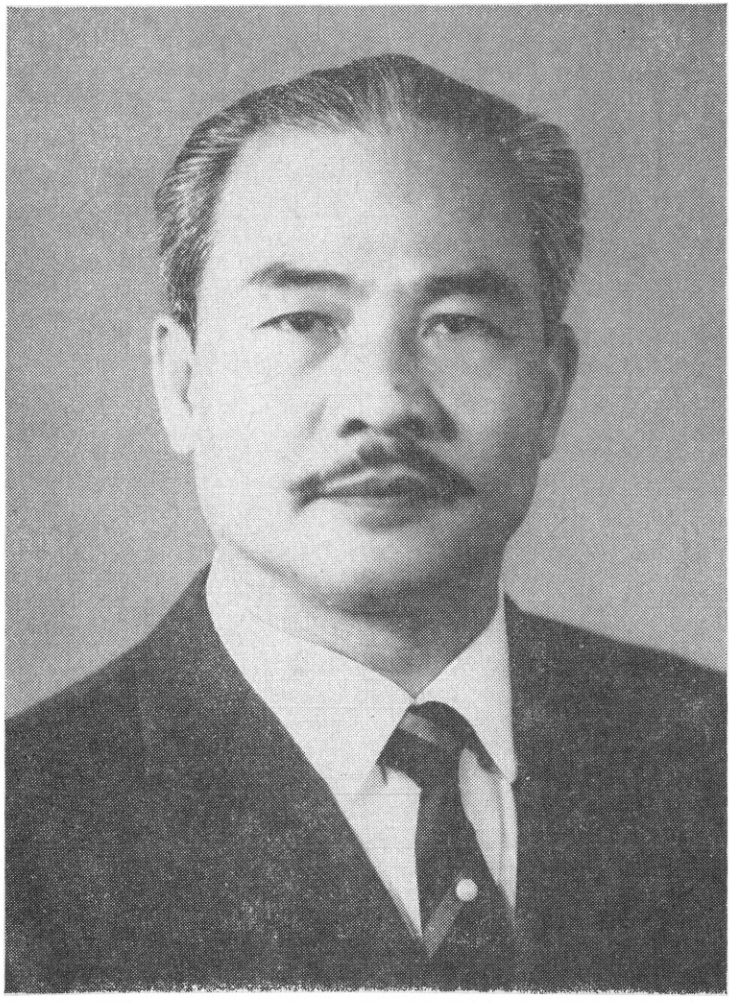
★ *Military, political, economic and cultural achievements.*

A QUARTER CENTURY OF GRIM AND VICTORIOUS STRUGGLE

Foreword

Nestled in the heart of the Indochinese peninsula, having common frontiers with the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and South Viet Nam, with Thailand, Burma, China and Cambodia, and possessed of important national resources, Laos has long been coveted by the imperialists. Since 1945, it has been compelled to wage a persistent political and armed struggle, first against the French colonialists, then against the American colonialists. And it has victoriously defended its independence and neutrality. How this small people of three million inhabitants composed of so many nationalities has been able to victoriously resist so powerful aggressors? Nobody is more competent than Kaysone Phomvihane, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front, to give the answer.

The present pamphlet published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence of Laos gathers various documents issued by the Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front; it will provide the reader with the basic documents, in abridged form, on the Lao problem.



PRINCE SOUPHANOUVONG
President of the Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front
(Neo Lao Haksat)

APPEAL OF PRINCE SOUPHANOVONG

PRESIDENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE LAO PATRIOTIC FRONT ON THE OCCASION OF THE 25th ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF LAOS' INDEPENDENCE (October 12)

Dear fellow-countrymen all over the country,

Dear cadres and combatants,

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence (October 12), on behalf of the Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front, I send my greetings of friendship and solidarity to you all, fellow-countrymen, cadres and combatants throughout the country. I bow before the souls of our combatants who have heroically died for the Fatherland. I express my solicitude to war invalids, wounded servicemen, and families of the armymen who have heroically sacrificed themselves for the Fatherland.

In the history of our country, the past twenty-five years were marked by a relentless heroic struggle for national salvation against the aggression of the French colonialists and American imperialists, and also by repeated big successes.

Up to now, we have liberated two-thirds of the national territory, in which our people of all nationalities have become the real masters of the land; they enjoy democratic liberties, equality between men and women and among all nationalities. Though subjected to murderous and savage bombings by the US imperialists, the liberated zones have been strengthened and consolidated in all fields — economic, cultural, educational and medical — to become the solid rear base of our struggle for national liberation, thus constantly improving the material and moral life of our people.

In the areas held by the US and quislings our fellow-countrymen nurture an ever deeper hatred for them. They stand up against their plundering of manpower and wealth to feed the war, for democratic liberties and life improvement, thus making an important contribution to the common success of the whole nation.

Our revolutionary armed forces have won more and more victories, and become stronger and more mature as ever. Over the past twenty-five years, they have put out of action 180,000 enemy troops and downed over 1,500 American aircraft.

Growing in number and improved in quality, our cadres have always demonstrated their absolute loyalty to the people and the nation.

The credit and prestige of our righteous struggle for national salvation is enhanced in the world.

The socialist countries, the nationalist countries and the peace and justice-loving peoples in the world give us ever greater support and assistance. Our three Indochinese peoples — Lao, Vietnamese and Cambodian — united more and more closely in the common struggle,

have inflicted ever heavier setbacks upon the US aggressors on all the battlefields in the three countries.

On this occasion, we warmly hail our cadres and combatants who, overcoming all difficulties and hardships, have displayed great heroism and successfully fulfilled all tasks entrusted them. We enthusiastically welcome all our fellow-countrymen in the liberated zones as well as in the enemy-controlled areas who, out of patriotism and sacrifice for the country, have constantly done their shares in the struggle for national salvation. At last, on behalf of the Lao people, I express our profound gratitude to the socialist countries, the nationalist countries and peace-loving peoples in the world, especially the Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples, for their support and assistance to the struggle of our people against US aggression.

Dear fellow-countrymen,

Though a small country, Laos has been fighting all through sixteen years now against the US aggressors and have inflicted upon them setback after setback. At present we are holding a vantage ground in all respects, and are driving the enemy to passiveness and embarrassment. Our successes have caused him more and more difficulties in the military field, and further isolation in the political field. Contradictions sharpen among the lackeys in the US payroll. The Vientiane puppet troops are confused and demoralized. All this is a good opportunity for us to step up our struggle in every respect and win bigger victories which will compel the enemy to end his war of aggression.

However, the US imperialists and their lackeys will create many obstacles on our road to complete victory.

Pursuing their aggressive schemes they have of late launched big puppet and Thai forces against various places in our liberated areas like Pak U, Xieng Khouang, the Highway № 9 area and Attopeu. They have smuggled spies and commandos to gather intelligence and sabotage our rear. They continued their air raids, thus carrying on their destructive work and preventing the settlement of the Lao problem by political means as proposed by the Lao Patriotic Front. On the other hand, in the areas under their control, they step up repression, multiply round-ups, pressgang the youths into the army to serve as cannon-fodder; intensify the exploitation of the population through the puppet administration, create an artificially-induced boom to hoodwink the people, build up military bases, and turn the areas under their control into a base to foster their war of aggression.

Therefore, on the occasion of this 25th anniversary, we call on our fellow-countrymen throughout the country:

1. To realize the danger created by the US imperialists and their lackeys to unite more closely, enhance their patriotism, carry forward their tradition of heroic struggle for national salvation, to push ahead the resistance against the US imperialists and their lackeys so that after setback upon setback they will be compelled to accept the Lao Patriotic Front's 5-point political solution for the settlement of the Lao problem;

2. To actively build and defend the liberated areas; to carry on economic construction, develop culture, education and medical work; to step up agricultural production, particularly foodcrops; to constantly improve their living conditions so as to have enough strength to defeat the US imperialists and their henchmen.

3. Let the venerable Buddhist dignitaries, prominent personalities, civil servants, traders countrymen in enemy-held areas unite into a monolithic bloc, and wage a multifarious struggle to frustrate the enemy's machiavellian scheme of feeding war with war ! Let the soldiers and policemen of the Vientiane puppet administration seek ways and means to oppose the enemy's manoeuvres and safeguard their lives !

4. Let our people strengthen solidarity with the socialist countries, the national liberation movements, the peace forces in the world, particularly the solidarity with the brother Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples, in order to completely shatter the US imperialists' war of aggression in Indochina !

On behalf of the Lao people, we avail ourselves of this opportunity to call on the socialist countries, the nationalist countries and the peace- and justice-loving people throughout the world to give greater support and assistance to our patriotic struggle against US aggression.

Dear fellow-countrymen,

Despite their cruelty and barbarity, the US imperialists are faced with many difficulties. They are now being clobbered by the three Indochinese peoples and their devilish plots are being frustrated by our armed forces and people. Conversely, we are in an ever better position and keep the initiative in all fields with an offensive posture. These are most favourable conditions for us. We must avail ourselves of this opportunity to win more important victories !

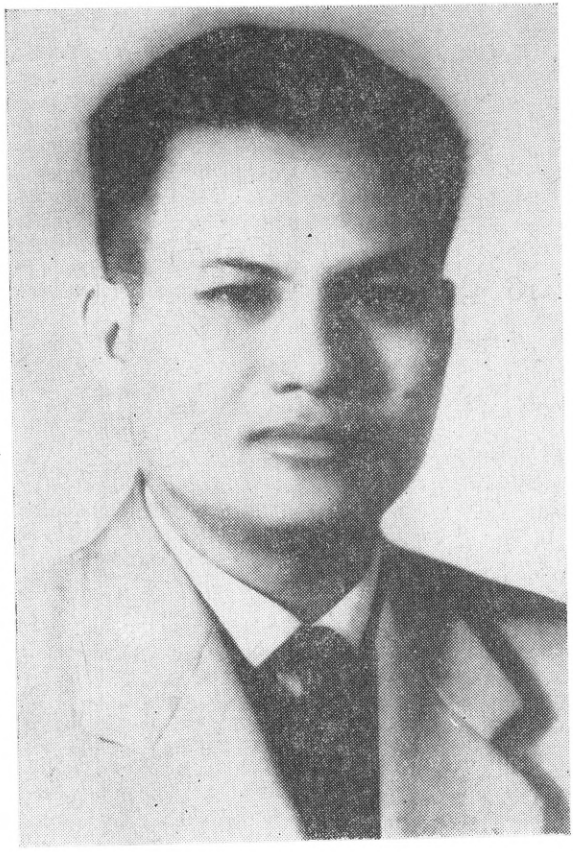
The prospect of our struggle is very bright. Justice is on our side. We have a correct line, an iron will, an everstronger force, and the tradition of heroic struggle ;

we also draw our strength from the solidarity between the three peoples — Lao, Vietnamese and Khmer — and from the assistance of the sccialist countries and the whole progressive mankind. We will win !

Long live peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos.

Sam Neua, October 12, 1970

PRESIDENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE LAO PATRIOTIC FRONT
PRINCE SOUPHANOUVONG



M. KAYSONE PHOMVIHANE
Vice-President of the Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front (Neo Lao Haksat)

A QUARTER-CENTURY OF GRIM AND VICTORIOUS STRUGGLE

KAYSONE PHOMVIHANE

Laos is a small country with a backward economy and culture; however, in the favourable international conditions of the past 25 years, led by a genuine revolutionary party, the Lao people have stood up to wage a fierce struggle against the French, Japanese and American imperialists in order to conquer independence and freedom, and have won ever greater victories. In this arduous and exacting but extremely heroic fight, they have fought in cooperation with the fraternal Vietnamese and Khmer peoples, their close and faithful comrades-in-arms against their common enemy. The resounding victories of the Indochinese peoples in general and the Lao people in particular in the past quarter — century cannot be separated from the introduction of Marxism — Leninism into Indochina and the founding of the Indochi-

nese Communist Party in 1930 by the late President Ho Chi Minh, as well as from the correct line and clearsighted leadership of the genuine revolutionary party of the working class in Laos.

Commemorating the 25th anniversary of Laos' Proclamation of Independence, our people are proud of the achievements scored and highly confident in their brilliant future.

*
* *

The Lao revolution is an integral part of the Indochinese and world revolution. Born and grown up in the present era, it enjoys many fundamental advantages: it lies in the common offensive posture of the world revolution and receives an active support from the world revolutionary, democratic and peace forces; at the same time it has to cope with many powerful imperialisms, especially US imperialism, their ringleader; therefore, the Lao revolution must go through a long and arduous struggle before achieving complete victory.

The Lao revolution has gone through two periods of glorious struggle, first against the French colonialists, then against the US imperialists.

Carrying forward the tradition of resistance against foreign aggression, after the Second World War, the Lao people stood up to seize power, established a provisional government and proclaimed their independence before the world. But, with the help of US and British imperialisms, French colonialism staged a comeback. After fighting for some time in the towns, the revolutionary forces then

still weak had to provisionally withdraw to preserve their strength and switched to building revolutionary bases in the countryside. After that, implementing the policy of mobilizing the peasant masses and setting up bases in the countryside, our patriots built revolutionary bases first in the jungle areas then in the plains and around the towns. In the process, they set up political and military forces, pushed ahead production to get self-sufficient in food and improve the living conditions of the peasants. Through these actions they succeeded in rallying the various strata of the people of all nationalities into a national united front — the Lao Itsala (Free Lao) —, built bases in the countryside, set up revolutionary armed and paramilitary forces, established a resistance government to lead the armed struggle of the Lao people against the French colonialists and co-ordinate it with that of the neighbouring peoples of Viet Nam and Cambodia. During nine years of resistance, with the devoted assistance and close co-ordination in combat of the Vietnamese people and revolutionary army, the Lao people advanced from victory to victory. The historic Dien Bien Phu victory compelled the French colonialists and the US interventionists to sign the 1954 Geneva Agreements recognizing the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. The Lao revolutionary forces had by this time set up a liberated zone comprising the provinces of Sam Neua and Phongsaly and won a legal status.

The victorious resistance against the French colonialists vigorously enhanced the national spirit of the various strata of the people. The Lao people strengthened their revolutionary forces in all fields — political and military—

their resistance bases, their contingent of cadres, etc., drew valuable revolutionary experiences, and set up material and moral bases for a new period of struggle.

But immediately after the French colonialists were defeated in Indochina, the US imperialists took their place, in the hope of turning Laos into a neo-colony and military base, a springboard to attack the Demoratic Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of China, contain the revolutionary tide in Southeast Asia and enslave the peoples in this area. To materialize their plot, they waged a special war in an attempt to wipe out the revolutionary forces and all patriotic tendencies opposed to their aggression.

In face of the new requirements of the revolution, our revolutionary Party has held aloft the national — democratic banner and led the entire people to resist US aggression. A Lao Patriotic Front was established which undertakes to mobilize the entire people for defeating the US imperialist aggressors and their lackeys, and achieving a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos. In pursuance of this revolutionary line, the Lao people have strengthened, consolidated and developed their forces in all fields, especially by broadening the national united front and building up their armed forces.

The Lao revolutionary forces have shattered all the enemy encroachements upon the Sam Neua — Phongsaly base, maintained and promoted the revolutionary movement in ten provinces, and conducted talks with the other side, compelling him to sign the Vientiane Agreements under which a national coalition government with the Lao Patriotic Front's participation was established. This

was a major victory of the Lao revolution. Having sustained a heavy setback, the US imperialists and their lackeys resorted to perfidious political manoeuvres in the hope of peacefully liquidating the revolutionary forces. This plot, howerver, was again foiled, particularly through the 1958 complementary elections. After that, the US imperialists and their lackeys went out of their way to sabotage the coalition government, arrested and jailed revolutionary cadres and people, encircled the armed units of the Lao Patriotic Front in an attempt to wipe them out, and even put into prison a number of Lao revolutionary leaders. In face of this situation, the Party timely switched to armed struggle combined with political struggle, mobilized the entire people to stand up against the US aggressors and their lackeys. The Second Battalion of the Lao revolutionary forces broke the enemy encirclement and returned to the base, thus opening a new period of struggle.

The mounting military and political struggle has aroused the national spirit of the various strata of the people, especially the intermediary ones, and the Vientiane officers and soldiers, helped the revolutionary leaders to escape from the enemy prison and led to the coup d'état staged by several units of the Royal Army and the setting up of the neutralist forces which declared alliance with the Lao Patriotic Front to fight against US aggression. The revolutionary forces developed quickly and the national united front broadened unceasingly.

Thanks to the great assistance from Viet Nam, the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries, we have intensified our military and political attacks, liberated two-thirds of the territory and half of the population,

and compelled the US imperialists and their stooges to agree to the formation of a tripartite national coalition government and to sign the 1962 Geneva Agreement recognizing Laos' independence, sovereignty and neutrality. This constitutes a second heavy setback for the US imperialists in Laos and an extremely important victory of the Lao people, which enabled them to enhance their posture and build up their forces.

Not reconciling themselves to failure, the US imperialists and their lackeys blatantly sabotaged the 1962 Geneva Agreement and the tripartite national union government, intensified and expanded the "special war", using US air force in co-ordination with mercenary troops (special forces, Vientiane troops, and elements of Bangkok and Saigon army) to attack and sabotage the liberated zone, in conjunction with the US aggressive war in South Viet Nam. In face of this situation, the Party decided to strengthen the unity of the entire people for a resolute military and political struggle, intensify the revolutionary forces in all fields, persevere in the fight against US aggression, defend, build and consolidate the liberated zone and at the same time push ahead the struggle of the people in enemy — held areas with a view to shattering the enemy's plot and advancing the revolution by firm steps. Implementing this policy, the revolutionary forces quickly built up their strength and won ever greater victories, inflicting an initial setback on Nixon's new aggressive move, gaining the initiative of operations, and driving the US imperialists and their lackeys into a position of defensive and heavier setback. Of late, as the US imperialists have extended the war throughout Indochina, the Vietnamese, Khmer and Lao

peoples fighting side by side against the common enemy have further driven the US imperialists and their lackeys deeper into the morass and inflicted upon them ever bitterer setbacks.

Through 25 years of hard and heroic struggle, the Lao people have won victories which constitute leaps forwar of tremedous historic significance.

Though small and poor, Laos has together with Viet Nam and Cambodia crushed French colonialism and Japanese fascism, and keeps in check the colonialism of the US imperialists — the most powerful chieftain of imperialism, winning fundamental and ever bigger successes. This is a great pride of our people. These achievements not only open the way for us to independence, freedom and genuine peace, but also make a worthy contribution to the struggle for peace, national independence, democratic and social progress of the world's peoples.

Two-thirds of our country and half of the population have been freed. The liberated zone has been firmly defended, built and consolidated in every field. The various nationalities in the liberated zone are enjoying genuine equality and living in unity and mutual affection. They are striving to build a new — national, democratic and progressive — social regime. Their material and cultural life is improving with every passing day. The firm liberated zone constitutes a great source of strength for our people in their resistance against US aggression and national construction.

The revolutionary forces have been set up and developed in the crucible of a fierce struggle which has gone through many vicissitudes, they have a genuine revolution-

ary party well-tempered and possessed of abundant and valuable experiences, the bloc of unity of the nationalities, a broad national united front, and revolutionary mass organizations, revolutionary military and paramilitary forces, and a contingent of cadres loyal to the revolution and the interests of the nationalities. These constitute fundamental factors which determine the victory of our people.

The prestige and influence of the revolution is mounting and taking deep roots among the popular masses throughout the country, and the position of the Lao Patriotic Front is being raised in the world arena.

The Lao revolution enjoys the sympathy and support, the active and great assistance of the socialist countries, the national liberation movement, and the peace-and justice-loving peoples in the world.

On this occasion, we sincerely thank the peoples and governments of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries, the peoples and governments of the nationalist countries, the peoples struggling against imperialism for national liberation, and progressive people in the world, for their active support to our just struggle.

The above-mentioned achievements have a paramount significance in the history of Laos. Lao society has undergone deep changes: from former slaves the various nationalities in Laos have become or becoming masters of the country; the forces of the Lao people are developing with unprecedented vigour, which are a sure guarantee for the triumph of the revolution. These are successes of the most revolutionary thought of the era in a small former colony with an underdeveloped economy and culture

like Laos. These successes have opened for the Lao people an era of independence and freedom and a bright future that no enemy force can ravish.

Those great achievements of the Lao revolution are due to the following factors:

— The Lao revolution has a genuine revolutionary party absolutely loyal to the interests of the working class, the labouring people and the entire nation, a correct political and military line and conduct of the revolution, a tested contingent of Party cadres and members.

— The Lao revolution has established and consolidated a broad national united front on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the Party, which unites the various nationalities, promotes their traditions of heroic resistance against foreign aggression, resolutely and persistently struggles against the imperialists and their lackeys in the spirit "all for the independence and freedom of the Fatherland."

— The Lao revolution is taking place in favourable international conditions: the socialist system is developing in all fields and has become the factor determining the development of human society; the national liberation movements are developing apace; the workers' and labouring people's movement in the developed capitalist countries is gaining momentum despite the manoeuvres and repression of monopoly capital. Moreover, the Lao revolution is waged in Southeast Asia where an unprecedented revolutionary storm is raging and bears, in particular, the direct impact of the grim and heroic struggle of the neighbouring Vietnamese people. It also enjoys a huge support and assistance from the socialist countries and peace-and justice-loving peoples in the world.

The three above-mentioned causes have a close relationship and are all necessary for the triumph of the Lao revolution. However, the fundamental and determining factor remains the correct leadership of the genuine revolutionary Party.

Throughout 25 years of hard but most glorious struggle, the Lao revolution has drawn many precious experiences :

First of all, the Lao revolution shows that *in a small country with a backward economy and culture and a nascent working class like Laos which has to cope with imperialism having powerfut economic and military potential and many perfidious and cruel manœuvres, if one can build a revolutionary party with a thorough revolutionary spirit, a correct political and military line and conduct of the revolution, a closeknit organization, an inner unity, firm ties with the masses, and total dedication to the people, a party which knows how to mobilize and organize the masses for the struggle, promote the tradition of resistance against foreign invasion and enlist the assistance of the fraternal countries, in the first place the socialist countries, then the revolution though beset with difficulties and hardships will certainly triumph.*

In several decades under French rule, there broke out in Laos many valiant uprisings and armed struggles against the French colonialists which caused the enemy many losses, but all invariably failed in the end, mainly because the tribal chiefs though nationally conscious did not truly represent the interests of the masses and could not therefore put forth a correct political line fully meeting the people's aspirations. In the early forties, the patriotic movements « Lao Pen Lao » (Laos to the Lao) and « Lao Seri » (Free Laos) of the petty bourgeoisie in the towns

formed under the influence of the patriotic movements against fascism in Indochina, though gathering a certain strength and carrying out some activities in many towns helpful to the 1945 general insurrection, could not rally the masses of the people around their leaders for they advocated the establishment of an out-moded democratic bourgeois regime once independence was reconquered. It was not until the Indochinese Communist Party was founded that the Lao revolution got a correct orientation. Today the genuine revolutionary party of the Lao people, faithful to the interests of the working class. the labouring people and the entire Lao nation, and possessed of a correct revolutionary line and methods of action, a thorough revolutionary spirit, has steadily and resolutely led the Lao nationalities to stand up against aggressor US imperialism — the most cruel and powerful imperialist ringleader — and won ever greater victories. At the same time it has set up powerful revolutionary forces ensuring final victory for the Lao people.

In each period of the revolution, the Lao revolutionary party has correctly assessed the balance of forces between the enemy and us; it has seen through its main enemy and correctly analyzed the characteristics of the home situation; on this basis it has put forward a correct revolutionary line and methods of action, set appropriate steps for the revolution; it has closely combined the task of national revolution, the interests of the nation and the Lao revolution with those of world peace, it has aptly adopted an offensive strategy, worked out flexible tactics, fully exploited the enemy's inner contradictions, concentrated on smashing the main enemy in each period; thus

it has been able to repel the adversary step by step and win success after success.

Laos holds a strategic position of great importance in South East Asia. Thera are two fundamental contradictions in the Lao society: one between the Lao nation and the imperialist aggressors (at present the Americans) and their lackeys, and the other between the Lao people — essentially the labouring people — and the comprador bourgeois and feudal forces, the former contradiction being the most fundamental. Therefore the Lao revolution has a double task, national and democratic, aimed at liberating the nationalities from the aggression and domination by the imperialists and their lackeys as well as other reactionary forces, and building a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos.

Over the past 25 years, while leading the struggle to fulfil the above-mentioned tasks, the Party has closely bombined them, but laid stress on the former in order to concentrate upon the fight against the imperialist aggressors and their lackeys. At present, the main contradiction in the Lao society is that between the Lao people and the US imperialist aggressors and their lackeys comprising the bureaucratic comprador bourgeoisie, the militarists, and the ultra-reactionary feudalists; the line of national and democratic revolution and the program of uniting the entire people are aimed to defeat the US imperialist aggressors and their lackeys, and build a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos. This line and this programme constitute an important creation of the Party in concretely leading the implementation of the national and democratic revolution in order to solve this essential contradiction and enable the Lao

revolution to reach its goals step by step. Thanks to this creative strategic guidance and this flexible application of tactics, our Party has rallied the national and democratic forces around it, disorganized and isolated the enemy to the utmost, won ever greater successes in our present struggle against US aggression and created fundamental factors to eventually achieve our national and democratic revolution.

The national and democratic revolution in Laos is, in essece, a revolution to liberate the peasantry. To accomplish this revolution, the key task for the Party is to build and consolidate the worker-peasant alliance under its leadership. In the past 25 years, the Party has gone deep into the countryside, mobilized the peasants (who make up over 90 percent of the population), built the unity between the peasants of different nationalities, brought them material interests, organized and led them to stand up against the imperialists and their lackeys to gain independence, freedom, happiness and progress. This policy of our Party has increased their attachment to the revolution, and consolidated and strengthened the worker-peasant alliance. The Party has also set up bases in the countryside, first political bases then military bases in each region. It has mobilized the peasants to struggle for self-liberation from a low to a higher level.

All the achievements of the revolution and the building and consolidation of the revolutionary forces in the past 25 years are linked to the Party's building and consolidation of the worker-pesant alliance, mobilization of the peasants of various nationalities to struggle against the imperialist aggressors and their lackeys, and build a new life.

Being the work of the masses, the revolution is always materialized by the revolutionary violence of the oppressed classes against the ruling classes to seize power. To oppose the imperialist aggressors and their lackeys who continually use counter-revolutionary violence in an attempt to wipe out the revolutionary forces, the Party has mobilized the masses to wage a war of liberation. It has organized and developed the political forces as basic forces; at the time it has built revolutionary armed forces with three kinds of troops [1] as the core of people's war. On the other hand, as US imperialist has launched a « special war » and carried out a neo-colonialist policy in Laos, the Party has mobilized the masses to wage a struggle in many forms, closely combined armed struggle with political struggle, making use of various forms of struggle — legal, diplomatic, parliamentary, several negotiations, two national union governments... However, the Party always regards armed struggle and political struggle as the two fundamental forms, the former being the most important one. Such is another great experience of the Lao revolution.

Imbued with the principle that to defeat the enemy and make the revolution triumph, revolutionary and all progressive forces which can be united must be united, the political and social characteristics of the country must be grasped the Party has successfully built a national united Front on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance under its leadership. It has promoted mutual affection and cooperation among the nationalities. With a minimum programme suitable for each period and flexible forms, it has

(1) Regular troops, regional troops and guerillas.

rallied all patriotic, peace and democratic forces, and won over tribal chiefs, personalities, bonzes, etc... to form a united front of the entire people. Thus it has completely isolated the US imperialists and their lackeys, and created conditions for the revolution to score success after success.

Another important experience of the Lao revolution is that *to win victory for the revolution in the conditions of a small country having to oppose powerful imperialist countries, along with promoting patriotism and self-reliance as the main task, it is most important to broadly unite with all revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces in the world, to strengthen solidarity and coordinate the struggle with the Vietnamese and Cambodian revolutions, to enlist the support and assistance in all fields of the socialist countries, the international communist movement, the national liberation movements, the peace and the justice-loving people in the word.*

These experience evince a great truth of our epoch: a small nation, with a backward economy and culture if it is led by a genuine revolutionary party armed with a correct political and military line and revolutionary methods, is closely united, struggles resolutely and perseveringly, and enjoys active support and assistance from the socialist countries and the revolutionary, democratic and peace forces in the world, can certainly defeat any imperialist aggressor — be it US imperialism, and wrest and safeguard its independence and freedom.

The grim and heroic struggle in the past 25 years has taken the Lao people a long way on the road of national and democratic revolution. It has dealt hammer blows at the policy of intervention and aggression of the US impe-

rialists. However, bellicose and stubborn by nature, the latter still cling to their neo-colonialist policy of intervention and aggression with a view to turning Laos into their neo-colony and military base. This is a long-term scheme in the framework of their strategy in Indochina and South-East Asia, and an integral part of their « global strategy » for world hegemony. Now, while intensifying the « Vietnamization of the war » in Viet Nam and extending the war into Cambodia, the US imperialists and their lackeys step up their special war in Laos and pile up more crimes against the Lao people.

In the political field, they strive to bolster their lackeys, consolidate the Vientiane administration, undermine the national united front against US aggression, weaken the Lao revolutionary forces by sowing discord between the Lao Patriotic Front and the Lao Patriotic Neutralist Forces, and destroying the latter, dividing the nationalities and capitalizing on their division. On the other hand, they exert utmost efforts to shore up the local administration in the areas under their control, set up and develop reactionary erganizations, push ahead the so-called « program of rural development » by erecting more concentration camps camouflaged under the name of « union villages », « prosperity zones » and « refugees camps » in order to subdue the population, grab the material and human resources of the Lao people to feed their aggressive war in Laos. Moreover, they step up spy war and psy-war, continue to slander the Lao Patriotic Front and the Patriotic Neutralist Forces, the socialist countries, particularly the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, in the hope of dri-

ving a wedge between the revolutionary and patriotic forces and the Lao people, and dividing the Lao and Vietnamese peoples ; at the same time, they carry on making peace frauds with an attempt at hiding their obvious faces of aggressors and traitors before American and world opinion which is condemning the Nixon administration for its intensified aggressive war against Laos.

In the military field, the US imperialists frenziddly build up the puppet army, particularly the «special forces» directly fed and commanded by them. They intensify their air raids against Laos and launch the Lao puppet troops, with increasing participation of Thai, South Viet Nam mercenaries against the Lao liberated zone, in co-ordination with their activities in South Viet Nam and Cambodia. Meanwhile, they mop-up the Vientiane-controlled zone to destroy revolutionary bases. On the other hand, they build up more military airfields, strategic communication lines and logistic bases along the Lao-Thai border, while consolidating their network of military bases in Thailand, with a view to further consolidating their « Mekong defence line ». Licking into shape the Vientiane—Saigon—Phnom Penh — Bangkok politico-military axis and their bases in Thailand, and relying on the Vientiane-controlled zone, the US imperialists hope to prolong their aggression in South-East Asia and implement the so-called Nixon doctrine of making Indochinese fight Indochinese and Asians fight Asians.

In the economic and cultural fields, the US imperialists try to materialize thei neo-colonialist policy in the areas under their control, dump their surplus goods through « commercialized aid » and expand capitalist investments

in Laos, through the «open-door» policy so as to dominate the economy of this country. At the same time, they bring in US depraved culture.

In execution of this scheme, the US imperialists work hand in glove with the Japanese monopoly capitalists who plot a big expansion in South-East Asia. The latter are penetrating Laos in many fields, especially through economic and espionage measures. They help the American imperialists in their aggressive war in Laos while pursuing their own colonialist design through the preparation of economic bases and other projects in this country.

The Thai reactionaries. zealous US lackeys in South-East Asia, are bringing an increasing number of their troops to fight in Laos, sending spies and commandos to the liberated zone and setting up « clandestine forces » in strategic sectors of the Vientiane — controlled zone. At the same time, they let the Americans use North-East Thailand as a logistic base, a training centre and a supplier of manpower and material resources for the US aggressive war in Laos. Moreover, we must be vigilant against the manoeuvres of other imperialisms.

Despite their heavy setbacks the US imperialists remain very stubborn, the Nixon administration's escalation of the aggressive war in Laos and expansion of the war throughout Indochina are the cause of the present tension in Laos, a serious threat to peace and security in Indochina and South-East Asia. Therefore, as the Political Programme of the Lao Patriotic Front has pointed out: *« The sacred and pressing task of the Lao people, regardless of age, sex, social or ethnic appartenance, religious or political belief, is to unite and struggle to foil the US imperia-*

lists « special war » and neo-colonialism, overthrow the traitors, in order to build a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos, and contribute to the restoration and safeguard of peace in Indochina, South-East Asia and the world ». The Front's Programme deeply reflects the fundamental aspirations and the vital interests of the various nationalities. So long as the US imperialists and their lackeys do not give up their design to invade and sell out our country and bar the materialization of the aforesaid aspirations of the Lao people, the latter will unite and persevere in their fight until complete victory.

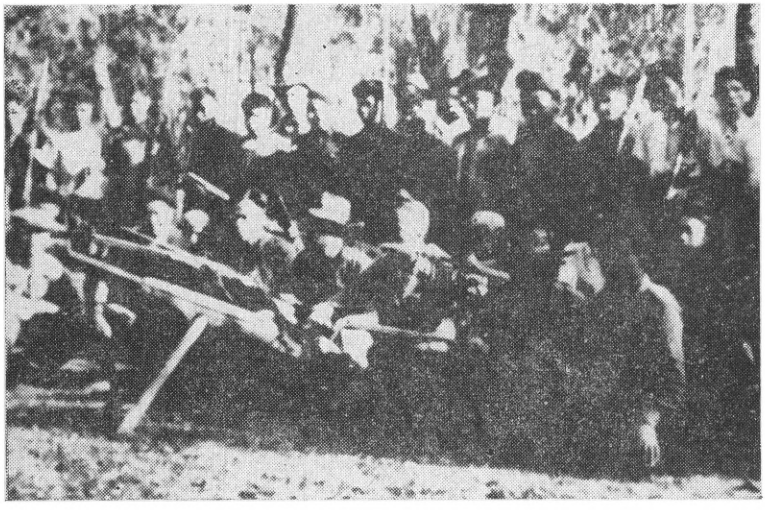
In the struggle to achieve the Programme of the Lao Patriotic Front and their fundamental aspirations, the Lao people will meet with many difficulties and hardships. However, the Lao revolution is enjoying new favourable conditions. The enemy of the Lao people — the US imperialists — is like a beast cornered by the Indochinese peoples; isolated to the utmost and suffering heavy setbacks, it is doomed to complete fiasco. As for their lackeys in Laos, they are notorious traitors torn by power struggles and political strife. They will not escape the fate of their masters.

The Lao people fight for a just cause and see their forces growing. Moreover, they enjoy the active support and assistance of fraternal countries, particularly the socialist ones, the co-ordinated fight and the devoted assistance of the Vietnamese and Khmer peoples, the sympathy and support of the peace-and justice-loving people throughout the world, including the progressive people in the United States.

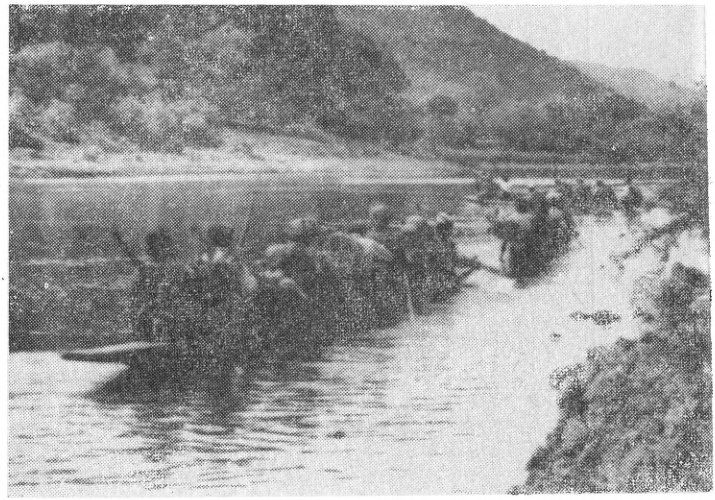
That is why, imbued with the spirit « All for independence and freedom », making the best of the successes already scored, promoting the tradition of patriotic struggle against foreign aggression and displaying revolutionary heroism, the Lao people are determined to perservere in their fight and will certainly win complete victory in their great resistance against US aggression and in the building of a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos.

M. Kaysone Phomvihane, the founder of the Lao People's Liberation Army.

The Latsavong detachment, the first unit of the Lao People's Liberation Army, established on January 20, 1949

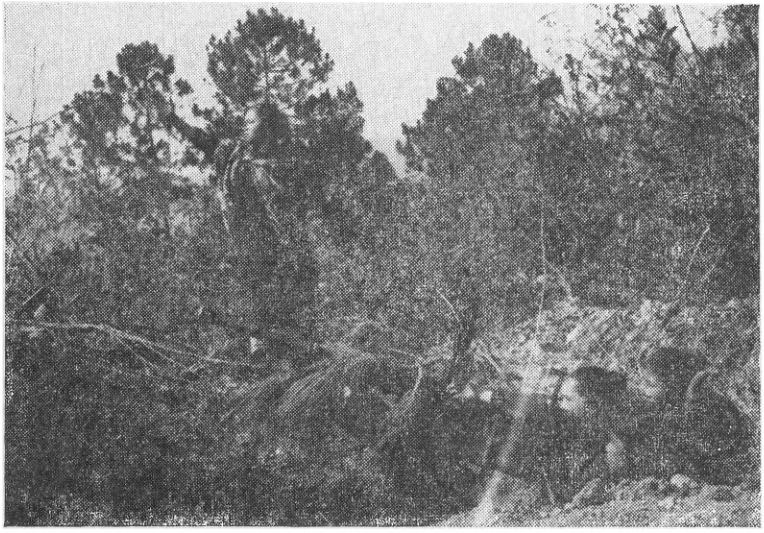


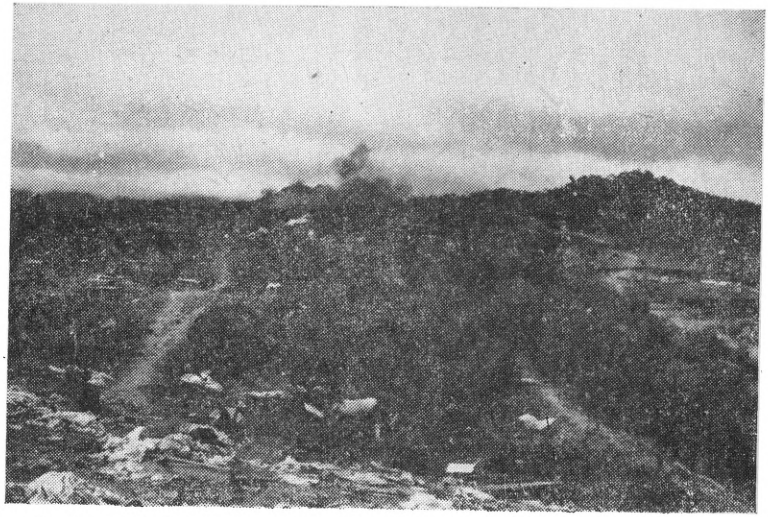
Forward to new victories



A tank unit in the Plain of Jars

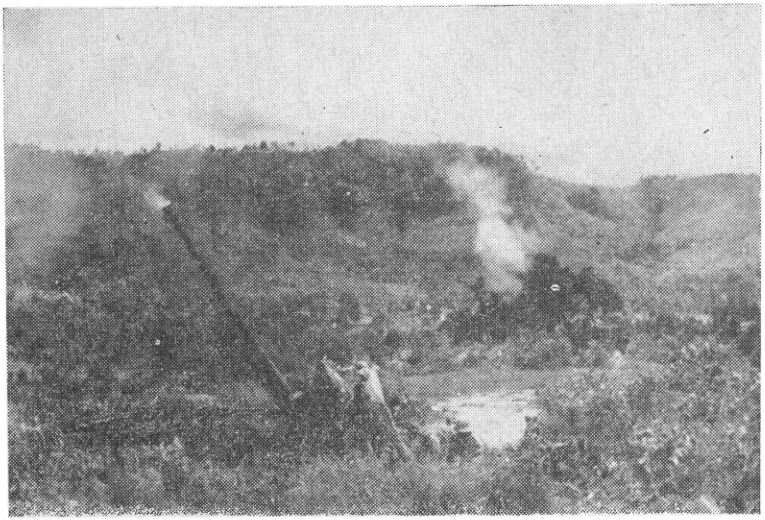
The women's unit (Xieng Khouang guerillas) which has downed several US jets.





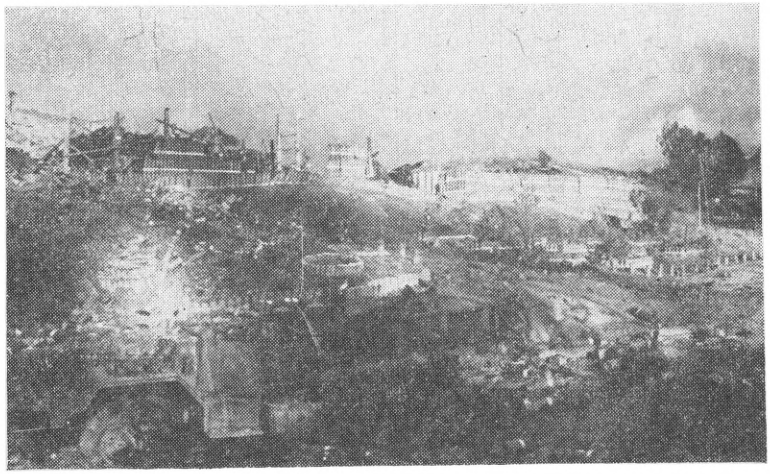
Capture of Sancho position by the Lao People's Liberation Army

Mercenary troops duly chastised



To resolutely defend the air space of the Fatherland

A position of Thai mercenaries at Muong Soui completely razed by the Lao patriotic forces.



The entire people take part in the guerilla to defend the villages.

Supplies bound for the front.

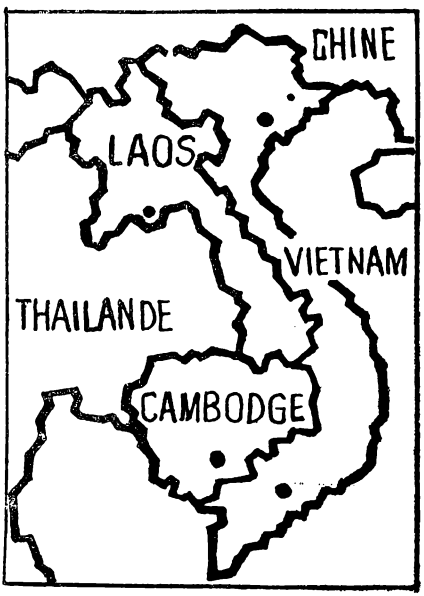
A guerilla unit

A US aircraft downed

The population treet the victors.

The artistic ensemble perform at the front.

Some geographical and historical data on Laos



Area: 231,000 square kilometres.

Geographical position: Situated in the heart of the Indochinese peninsula between 97 — 107° longitude East and 14 — 22°5 latitude North, Laos has common frontiers with China in the north, Burma and Thailand in the west, Cambodia in the south, and Viet Nam in the east.

Climate: Monsoon tropical with clearly distinct seasons: dry season (October — May) and rainy season (May — October).

Hydrography: Almost the entire territory is watered by a vast hydrographic network constituted by the Mekong river (mother river) running from north to south on about 1,600 kilometres and ending in a sharp difference of level: the Khône falls.

Relief: Varied and gradually declining towards the Mekong river bed — Mountains in the north and the east: the Phou Bia (2,850m) towers in Northerm Laos while the Phou Louang (Indochinese Cordillera) separates Laos from Viet Nam in the east. Then comes a series of vast plateaux (400 — 500m on the average) stretching from north to south: the Xieng Khouang plateau, the calcareous Khammouane plateau, the gritty Donghene — Tchepone plateau and the red-earth Boloven plateau. At last, a string of alluvial plains lies along the Mekong river.

A luxuriant and diversified *vegetation* covers three-fourths of the country: dense forests and tropical gallery

forests rich in valuable species, glade forests and pine-woods, bamboo forests and bushes, high savannas and grasslands in bottoms of valleys — in which lives a varied fauna: felines (tigers, panthers), great pachyderms (elephants, rhinoceros), cervidae (deer, elk, roe-buck), gaurs and wild buffaloes, many species of monkeys...

The *Subsoil* contains great mineral riches: tin, iron, coal, copper, manganese, gold, rock salt, but not yet tapped for the most part, save the deposits of tin at Phontiou — Boneng (Khammouane province), rock salt and gold sand exploited by the local population along traditional methods.

Laos is country devoted to agriculture (rice, maize, coffee, benzoin, stick-lac, cardamom, teak) and stockbreeding (oxen, buffaloes, elephants, horses) with great industrial potentialities still untapped.

Sparse population: About 3 million inhabitants divided according to their ethnic origin and living in three groups: Lao Loum (in the plains), Lao Theung (in the mountain slopes) and Lao Soung (on the high peaks). After centuries of common life, work and struggle for the building and defence of the country, these different ethnic elements have merged in one bloc: the Lao nation.

Historical glimpse: Unified for the first time in 1353 under King Fa Ngum, ancient Laos called Lan Xang (country of Million Elephants) included besides the present territory a certain number of principalities situated on the right bank of the Mekong.

A country of ansient civilization: Soon under the influence of Buddhism (now a State religion), Laos has long since got its own script, a graphic system borroved from the Khom (ancient Khmer) and adapted to the variotonic

requirements of Lao speaking; a national culture, one and multiple, with a rich fund of oral and written traditions and folk songs: *lam, khap, teui, long,* as well as a varied range of folk dances: *fonelai, seung bang fay, lamvong, sabre dance, khene dance.*

Many vestiges testify that Laos has been inhabited since the neolithic period (stone jars, menhirs, raised stones in the Plain of Jars, Muong Peum, Louang Prabang). The architecture of the feudal epoch consists mainly in pagodas and stupas the most known of which are the That Louang in Vientiane, the Vat Phou in Champassak, the Vat May which contains the Phabang (Golden Buddha) in Louang Prabang, the Phakeo pagoda (Emerald Buddha), the Vat Sisaket.

Traditions of struggle of the Lao people for their independence and freedom: The history of the Lao people is that of a centuries-old struggle for their independence and freedom.

In the Lao ancient feudal society, a struggle against the exactions of Siamese and Burmese lords, a struggle against foreign aggressors.

Put under French domination in 1893, Laos lived half a century under colonial and semi-feudal regime, an odious regime of oppression, exploitation and obscurantism. Having lost their independence and freedom, the Lao people were also deprived of their cultural and spiritual patrimony. The Lao peasant groaned under the burden of taxes and corvees. 95 per cent of the population were illiterate. Alcohol, opium and other social evils inherent to the colonial regime threatened the people of a grave physical and moral decadence. After half a century of

colonial domination, Laos remained an economically backward country.

The history of the Lao people during this period was that of a relentless struggle against French colonialism:

— Insurrection of Lao Loum peasants under Pho ca Douat in Savannakhet (1901-1903)

— Insurrection of Lao Theung under Ong Keo and Kommadam in Lower Laos (1901-1937)

— Insurrection of Lao Soung unded Chao Fa Patchay in Xieng Khouang, Sam Neua and Louang Prabang (1918-1922)

— Struggle of Ko, Lu, Yao... minorities

— Struggle of workers, students, functionaries and townsfolk against the colonial power (1930-1940)

— National revolution (1945) following the crushing of fascism by the victory of the Soviet Union and the Allied Powers. Seizure of power by the Lao people from the Japanese fascists and French colonialists (August 1945).

— Proclamation of independence and establishment of a provisional government (October 12, 1945)

— First period of national resistance: struggle against the come-back of French colonialism (1945-1954). The victorious struggle of the Indochinese peoples culminating in the brilliant victory of Dien Bien Phu compelled the French colonialists to sign the Geneva Agreements (July 20, 1954) which put an end to the Indochina war on the basis on the recognition of the independence, unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the three Indochinese countries: Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. According to a particular provision for Laos, a bipartisan government of

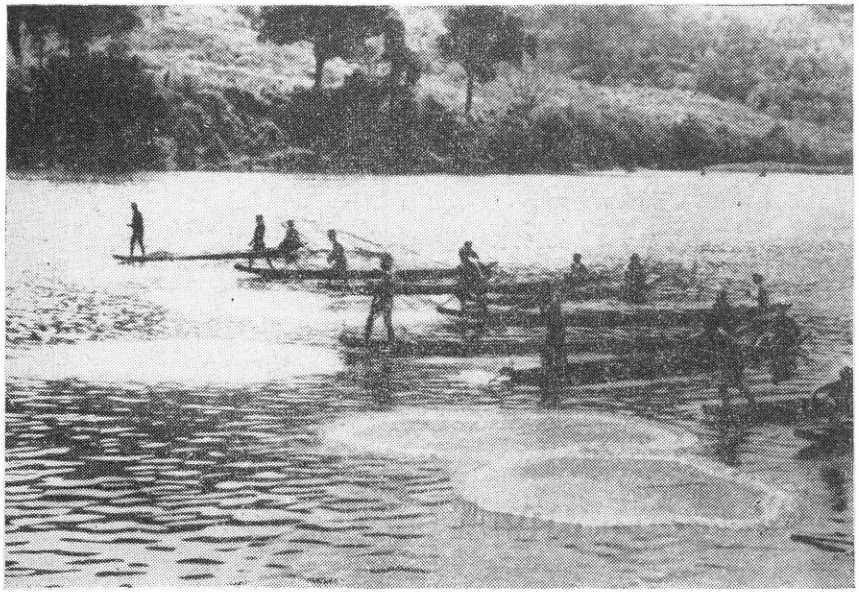
coalition (the royal side on the hand and the Pathet Lao on the other) was set up, but it was sabotaged by pro-American elements.

— Second period of national resistance : struggle against US neo-colonialism. Since 1949, growing intervention of US imperialism in Lao affairs. Since 1954, camouflaged aggression under the form of « special war ».

— Following bitter setbacks inflicted by the Lao Liberation forces (at Sala Phoukhoun and Louang Nam Tha in particular), the American imperialists and their Vientiane accomplices were compelled to sign the 1962 Geneva Agreement reaffirming the recognition of the independence, sovereignty, neutrality, unity and territorial integrity of Laos and instoring a tripartite government of national union ; it was overthrown on April 19, 1964 by a military putsch instigated by the Americans. Since 1964. overt and stepped-up aggression of the US imperialists under the form of an all-out air war by the USAF. However, all escalation of invasion has ended in a heavier setback.

That Louang, a national relic (1556-1566).

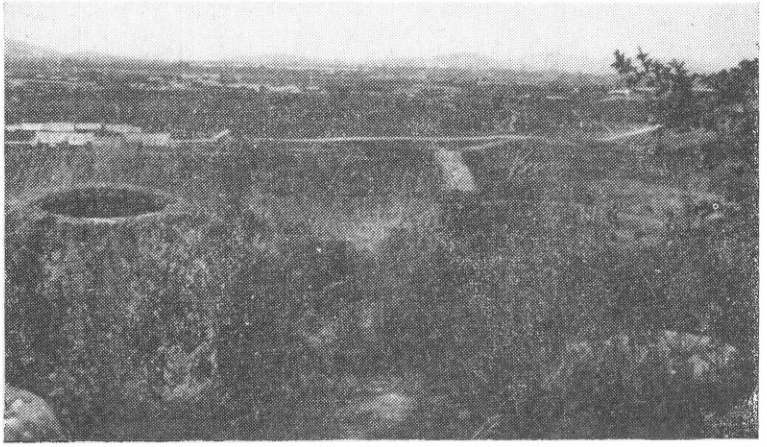
Laos was named Lan Xang or the Land of Million Elephant

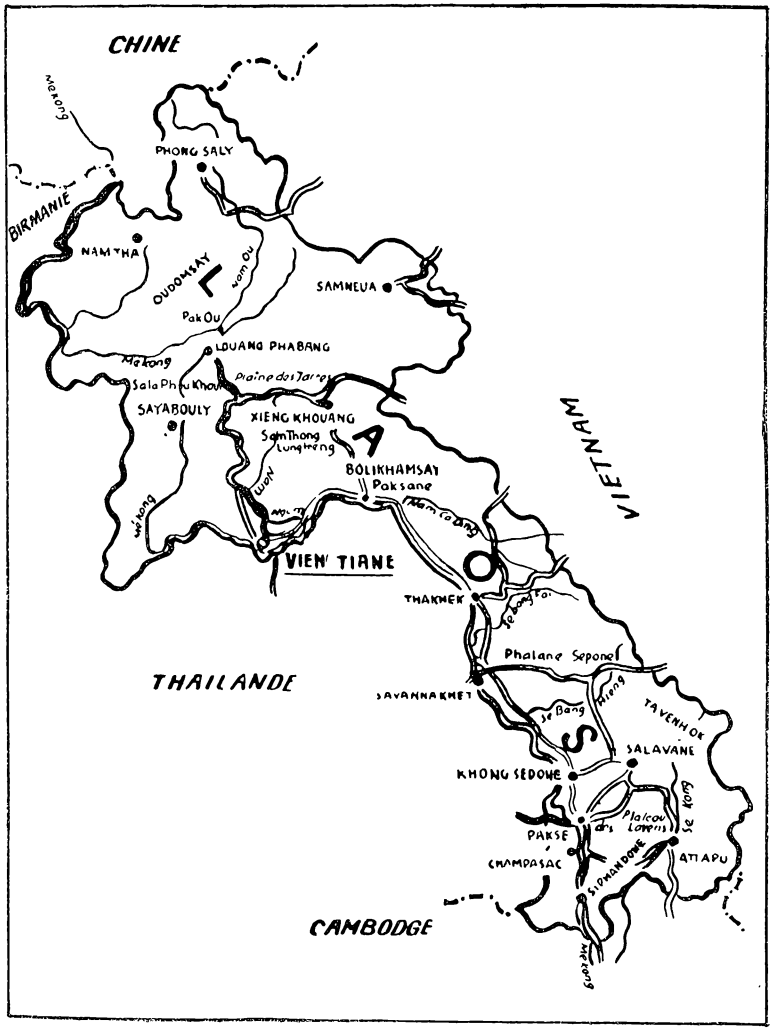


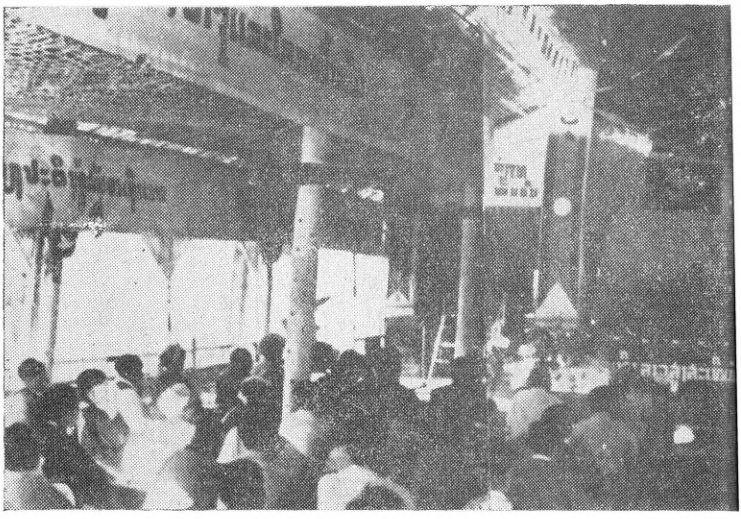
Fishing in the Nam Ma river

The great family of the Lao nationalities.

The Plain of Jars with many prehistoric vestiges.



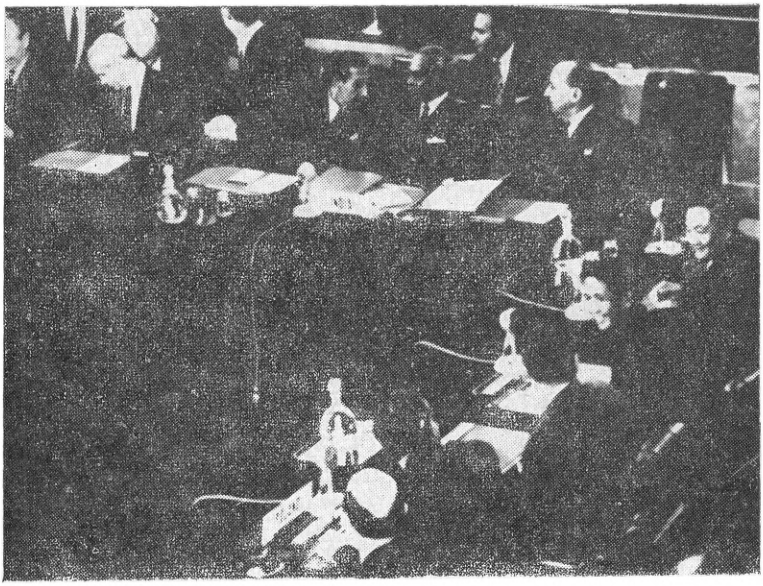

CHINE
Mekong
PHONG SALY
BIRMANIE
NAM THA
OUDOMSAY
Nam Ou
SAMNEUA
Pak Ou
LOUANG PHABANG
Mekong
Sala Phu Khoun
Plaine des Jarres
SAYABOULY
XIENG KHOUANG
Sam Thong
Lungkeng
BOLIKHAMSAY
Paksane
Nam Ngum
Nam Lik
Nam Ngum
VIEN TIANE
VIETNAM
THAKHEK
Nakay Fai
Phalane Seponel
THAILANDE
SAVANNAKHET
Se Bang
Xiang
TAVENH OK
SALAVANE
KHONG SEDONE
Se Kong
Plaicou
Lonnam
PAKSE
CHAMPASAC
STUNG TRENG
ATTAPU
CAMBODGE
Mekong



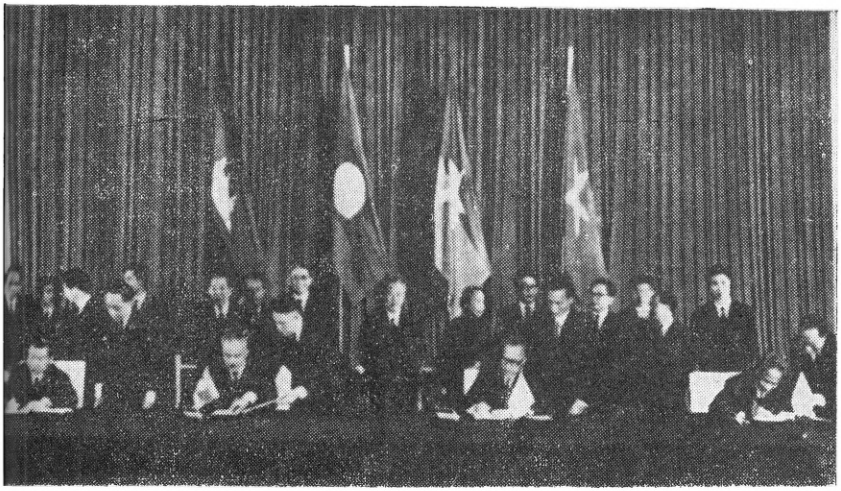
The First Congress of the Free Lao Front (Lao Itsala) ratifies th
Prince Souphanouvon

First conference of Political Alliance between the Lao Patriotic Front and the Lao Patriotic Neutralist Forces (October 13, 1965).

ormation of the Resistance Government headed by
August 13, 1950).



The 1962 Geneva Conference on Laos.



The Summit conference of the Indochinese People (April 24, 1970)

MAIN FACTS AND EVENT IN LAOS FROM

1945

TO 1970

1945

August 1945 :

The Lao Itsala (Free Lao) movement was founded rallying people animated with anti-colonialist feelings in the country or back from abroad ; self-defence brigades were established, equipped for the most part with rudimentary weapons : knives, swords, sporting guns... Together with the people, the Lao Itsala wrested power, breaking the double yoke of Japanese fascists and French colonialists

August-October :

From August 23 to the close of September, the Lao people conquered power in Vietiane, Thakhek, Savannakhet, Xieng Khouang, Sam Neua, Phongsaly and at last in Luang Phabang in October.

October 12:

The first provisional national government was set up in Vientiane which proclaimed the Independence of Laos.

November:

Prince Souphanouvong, Minister of Foreign Affairs, National Defence, and Commander-in-Chief of the Lao Liberation Army, signed on behalf of the provisional government a preliminary convention on mutual assistance on the military field with the DRVN in terms of which the Lao and Viet armed forces fight shoulder to shoulder against French colonialism, the common enemy of the two peoples for the safeguard of their national independence.

1946

March:

The French colonialists again invaded Laos.

March 21:

The heroic battle for the defence of Thakhek town attacked in force by the French colonialists. Prince Souphanouvong was wounded during an air raid. Thus began the war of resistance of the Lao people against the French which lasted eight years (1956-1954). Fall of Thakhek.

April:

Laos relapsed under French colonialism. The Resistance forces led by Prince Souphanouvong withdraw into the mountainous regions and established the first guerilla bases. The French rigged up a puppet government and granted it sham independence.

1947

Since 1947, the Lao Itsala rallying various people's, military and paramilitary organizations grew up. Guerilla zones and boses in the mountainous regions extended step by step in the plains.

1949

January 20 :

The Latsavong detachment, the first unit of the Lao Liberation Army was formed under the command of Kaysone Phomvihane, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Central Committe of the present Lao Patriotic Front. Nearly at the same time, many other detachments were set up like the Setthathirat, Fa Ngum, Say Chac Kaphath units. January 20 became the founding day of the Lao people's Liberation Army.

1950

August 13-15 :

A Lao National Congress was convened with the participation of over 150 delegates from all social strata, various nationalities and patriotic organizations members of the Neo Lao Itsala. The Congress worked out the line of the Lao revolution and adopted a program of the resistance war in 12 points, aimed at giving a unified orientation to all people's organizations for resistance both in guerilla and enemy-occupied zones. A Central Committee of 15 members was elected with Prince Souphanouvong at its head. The Congress chose a national flag, a national an-

them and issued a proclamation calling on the people to strengthen their unity and pursue their resistance war against the French colonialists until final victory.

Late in 1950, the liberated zone accounted for one quarter of the national territory with nearly one-fourth of the population.

Right since 1950, when evidence of a total defeat of French troops began to materialize on the Indochina theatre of operation, the US imperialists began to intervene in Laos by supplying weapons and dollars to the French colonialists and puppet governments.

1951

March 10 :

A consultative meeting was held between delegates of the Neo Lao Itsala, Viet Nam Lien Viet Front and Cambodian Issarak Front, which set up an alliance bloc between the Lao, Viet and Khmer peoples on the basis of voluntariness, equality, mutual assistance and respect for each other's sovereignty. The conference advocated cooperation between the three peoples in the struggle against the common enemy.

1953

April :

The Liberation People's Army (still called Pathet Lao Army) together with the Vietnamese armed forces launched a series of campaigns throughout the country, in the first place the upper Laos campaign, liberating the provin-

ces of Luang Phabang, Xieng Khouang and Sam Neua ; upper Laos thus became the national base of the resistance war.

December :

The People's Army attacked in Central Laos, liberating the province of Khammouane and of Savannakhet.

1954

January :

Liberation of the province of Attopeu and of the Lavens plateau.

February 23 :

Liberation of the province of Phongsaly.

By the beginning of 1954, over half of the national territory with over one million inhabitants was liberated. The liberated zone was linked to China and Viet Nam, two neighbouring and friendly countries.

July 20 :

Signing of the Geneva Agreements : cessation of hostilities in Laos, Viet Nam and Cambodia. The countries members of the Geneva Conference adopted a common Declaration recognizing the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Laos, Viet Nam and Cambodia. This is a great victory of the Lao, Vietnamese and Khmer peoples against French colonialism and US interventionists. Thus the domination of French colonialism ended in Laos and the colonial regime completely abolished in Indochina.

Over eight years of resistacne war against the French colonialists, the Lao armed forces shoulder by shoulder with the Vietnamese volunteers fought more than 3,000 engagements, wiped out more than 38,000 enemies (including over 100 junior and senior efficers), captured sevenral thousand prisoners, seized more than 14.000 weapons of various kinds and more than 300 tons of war material.

August 20 :

The Pathet Lao armed forces completed their regrouping in the provinces of Sam Neua and Phongsaly before the time set by the Geneva Agrements.

September 8 :

After the signing of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, the US taking the relieve of the French colonialists did its best to sabotage these accords. On September 8, the military aggressive bloc of Southeast Asia (SEATO) was founded under US regis. This aggressive bloc put Laos, South Viet Nam and Cambodia with its « protection », thus violating the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina.

November 18 :

Vietnamese volunteers completed their withdrawal from Laos.

November 26 :

The US overthrew the Souvanna Phouma government and brought to power its stooge Katay Don Sasorith ; the Vientiane government launched two-thirds of its armed forces against the two Pathet Lao regrouped provinces in the hope of crushing the revolutionary forces and conquering Sam Neua and Phongsaly ; in the other ten provinces, it enforced terror and reprisals against the former resis-

tance members and patriotic people. However, the Pathet Lao forces succeeded in safeguarding the two regrouped provinces and consolidating the basic organizations in the other ten provinces.

1955

February 27:

J.F Dulles arrived in Vientiane and declared: American mobille forces will intervene in Laos in case this country is « invaded ».

February 28:

Katay declared: « The US and Laos have signed an agreement on military and economic aid granted by the US to Laos. »

December 25:

Katay organized separate and fraudulent elections to bring in more followers in the National Assembly and strengthen his position. During 1955, the talks between the Vientiane government and the Pathet Lao were many a time undermined by the Katay government; the puppet army attacked the two Pathet Lao regrouped provinces with increased fierceness.

1956

January 6:

The Lao National Congress decided to reorganize and broaden the Lao Itsala Front to found the Lao Patriotic Front (Neo Lao Haksat). The new Front rallies all strata of the population, all patriotic and progressive organizations struggling against US imperialist intervention for a

peaceful, independent, neutral unified, democratic and prosperous Laos; Prince Souphanouvong was elected President of its Central Committee.

March :

The Katay government collapsed after its failure to occupy the two regrouped provinces and smash the Pathet Lao forces. Souvanna Phouma became Prime minister of the Vientiane government.

May 8 :

Prince Souphanouvong proclaimed the Lao Patriotic Front's policy of peace and neutrality. This policy get the support of the entire people.

August 1 :

Renewal of bipartite talks in Vientiane,

October 31 :

Signing of an armistice between the Vientiane government and the Pathet Lao.

December 24 :

Signing by Prince Souphanouvong and Souvanna Phouma of the common declaration on the establishement of a coalition government with the participation of the Pathet Lao.

1957

November 2 :

Setting up of a coalition government with Prince Souvanna Phouma as Prime minister. The Lao Patriotic Front had two representatives: Prince Souphanouvong,

Minister of Planning and Urban Construction, and Phouni Vongvichit, Minister of Rites and Arts.

1958

May 2 :

The Lao Patriotic Front won a brilliant victory in the supplementary elections to the National Assembly. Nine Front candidates were elected. In particular, Prince Souphanouvong, invited by the Vientiane people to stand for election in the Capital, polled a sweeping majority of votes. Mrs Khampheng Boupha, President of the Women's Union (an organization member of the Lao Patriotic Front) was elected in Luang Phabang. She was the first woman to be elected to the National Assembly. This event scored the rapid maturity of the women's movement in Laos and roused a great interest in the popular masses

July 22 :

Under the pressure of the US and its stooges, the Souvanna Phouma government was overthrown.

August 18 :

Phoui Sananikone was appointed Prime minister.

Arrival in Vientiane of many US officers and military experts.

1959

March :

Repressive measures in Vientiane : the Lao Haksat paper (organ of the LPF) was banned, the cadres and fonctiona-

ries members of the LPF who had served the Vientiane government after the integration were put under forced residence.

May :

The Phoui Sananikone government ordered the encirclement of the Pathet Lao 1st Battalion stationed at Xieng Ngeun (south of Luang Phabang) and the 2nd Battalion oncamped in the Plain of Jars (Xieng Khouang).

May 18 :

With the people's help, the 2nd Battalion slipped through the encirclement and made for the revolutionary bases. It was the signal of a new period of armed struggle throughout Laos.

July 28 :

The pro-US Phoui Sananikone clique put in prison Prince Souphanouvong and 15 other leaders of the LPF including eight deputies to the National Assembly.

September 9 :

Introduction into Laos of a big haul of US weapons and munitions granted as aid to the Vientiane troops.

September 12 :

Arrival in Laos of the first units of the US army disguised as « liaison units ».

October 22 :

A Congress of the Lao Patriotic Front put forward proposals for the renewal in the shorted delay of talks with the Vientiane government to settle the internal affairs of Laos.

December 31:

Coup d'état of Phoumi Nosavan. The Phoui Sananikone government was overthrown, and the National Assembly dissolved.

1960

April:

Fraudulent general elections to rig up a US-subservient National Assembly.

May 24:

Prince Souphanouvong and the other LPF leaders and cadres illegally jailed in Vientiane escaped from prison and returned to the liberated zone. At the appeal of the LPF, the popular masses rose up to struggle against US aggression for national salvation. Their patriotic enthusiasm found a broad echo among the Vientiane soldiers and officers. The reactionary governments rigged up by the US collapsed one after the other: Phoui Sananikone, Kou Aphay, Somsanith...

August 9:

The 2nd Paratroop Battalion of the Vientiane army led by captain Kongle (now in exile abroad) and Lieutenant Deuane (now Colonel of the Patriotic Neutralist Forces) staged a coup d'état, overthrew the Somsanith — Phoumi Nosavan government and established a new one under Prince Souvanna Phouma. The new government adopted the LPF policy of peace and neutrality, engaged in nego-

tiations with the latter, and set up diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

November 11:

Coup d'état of Phoumi Nosavan in Luang Phabang. The putschists pressed the King into disavowing the Souvanna Phouma government.

December 13:

With the help of the US imperialists and the Thai reactionary government, Phoumi Nosavan reactionary troops, starting from Thai bases, attacked Vientiane.

Phoumi Nosavan troops supported by Thai, Filipino and South Vietnamese mercenaries reoccupied Vientiane and savagely massacred the population.

1961

January 1:

The patriotic armed forces liberated the Plain of Jars-Xieng Khoang area.

May 16:

Following heavy setbacks both on the military and on the political planes, the US puppets were compelled to accept a ceasefire and participate in a tripartite conference at Namon, then in an international conference at Geneva to solve the Lao problem politically.

June 22:

Signing of the Zurich Agreement on the formation of a Lao tripartite coalition government.

1962

May 6 :

Liberation of Louang Nam Tha, a big entrenched camp built by the US-puppets in Upper Laos to serve as a springboard for their nibbling attacks against the liberated zone.

June 12 :

Signing of the Plain of Jars Agreement on the establishment of a tripartite government.

June 23 :

Founding and consecration of a tripartite coalition government with Prince Souvanna Phouma as Prime minister, Prince Souphanouvong and Phoumi Nosavan as Vice-Premiers.

July 23 :

Signing of the 1962 Geneva Agreement recognizing Laos' sovereignty, independence, unity, territorial integrity and neutrality.

November :

The pro-US party began to attack the liberated zone of Sayaboury (Upper Laos) and Salavane (Lower Laos) provinces.

1963

March 1 :

Failure of the right-wing to arrest colonel Deuane, commander of the Patriotic Neutralist Forces.

April 1:

Murder of Quinim Pholsena, Foreign Minister of the tripartite coalition government, a staunch champion of the policy of peace and neutrality.

July 15:

For the 3rd time, Prince Souphanouvong, President of the Lao Patriotic Front, Vice-Premier of the tripartite coalition government write to the Co-chairmen of the 1962 Geneva Conference on Laos to protest against the violation of the 1962 Geneva Agreement by the right-wing troops which had occupied Seno in Savannakhet province.

July 20:

The US command dropped a company of puppet South Vietnamese paratroops on Muong Nong, Savannakhet.

September 9:

With armour support, the right-wing troops fired at the seat of the LPF representatives and encircled the DRVN embassy in Vientiane.

1964

January 20:

Attack by 13 right-wing battalions against several positions of the LPA in Xieng Khouang.

January 30:

The first detachment of US Okinawa « special forces » arrived in Thailand to participate in «counter-insurgency» manoeuvres. Side by side with 14,000 Thai soldiers, they threatened the independence and neutrality of Laos and Cambodia.

February 10 :

Declaration by the LPF denouncing the US aggressors and their stooges who had intensified the special war in Laos.

February 19 :

Meeting in Bangkok of the SEATO aggressive military bloc council to discuss the situation in Laos.

April 6 :

A congress of the LPF adopted a 10-point program of action against US aggression for national salvation and the building of a peaceful, independent, democratic, unified, neutral and prosperous Laos.

April 18 :

Failure of the tripartite conference : the right-wing demanded the dissolution of the tripartite coalition government and considered the Geneva, Zurich and Plain of Jars Agreements « obsolete ».

April 19 :

Coup d'état of the pro-US party led by Kouprasith Abhay and Siho. The US imperialists maintained Prince Souvanna Phouma as Prime minister but compelled him to « reshuffle » and « broaden » the government to bring in their followers.

May 17 :

The US aggressors began to systematically bomb the Lao liberated zone.

June 8 :

Declaration by the LPF proposing an urgent meeting in Phnom Penh of a Conference of States members of the

1962 Geneva Conference on Laos to work out a peaceful solution for the Lao problem.

June :

Professor J. Bernal, President of the World Peace Council the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro- Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, the Secretariat of the Federation of Afro-Asian Journalists, the Conference of Asian Buddhists made statements condemning US imperialism whith had violated the Geneva Agreements on Laos and bombed the Lao liberated zone.

July :

The US aggressors and their stooges launched operation Sam Son (Three Arrows) against the Lao liberated zone.

September 21:

Failure of the Paris tripartie negotiations owing to the sabotage by the right-wing on US orders.

October 5 :

Radio Pathet Lao denounced the creation by the US aggressors and their placemen of concentration centres and camps disguised as « union villages », a kind of « strategic hamlets » in Laos.

December 14 :

The US aggressors and their stooges launched a large-scale campaign dubbed Victorious Arrow (Son Say) against the Lao liberated zone.

December 31 :

Message by Prince Souphanouvong to Prince Souvanna Phouma protesting against the US-puppets' manoeuvres to organize so-called general elections.

1965

January 31 :

Failure of a coup d'état staged by a handful of right-wing officers. The instigators of this putsch Phoumi Nosavan and Siho fled to Thailand.

February 28 :

Declaration by the LPF denouncing the US aggressors and their stooges who had « reshuffled » the government to their advantage in complete disregard of the principle of unanimity between the three parties as specified in the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos and the Zurich and Plain of Jars Agreements.

March :

The delegates of the LPF participated in the Conference of Indochinese Peoples within the Delegation of the Lao people.

October :

The Political Consultative Conference between the Lao Patriotic Front and the Lao Patriotic Neutralist Forces worked out a four-point stand and three immediate tasks ; it marked a new step in the union of patriotic forces to fight the US imperialists and their stooges until complete victory.

1966

March 20 :

Victory of Phou Kout : the Lao People's Liberation Army repelled the counter-offensive of 10 enemy battalions and inflicted upon them heavy losses.

May 3 :

Radio Pathet Lao denounced the use by the US imperialists of B52 strategic planes to savagely bomb the Lao liberated zone of Khammouane province.

October 21 :

General Thao Ma, Commander of the Vientiane air force, ordered to bomb Vientiane. Having failed in his coup d'état, he fled to Thailand.

November :

Under the pressure of the pro-US extreme right, Kongle was compelled to give up the command of the Neutralist Forces and had to flee abroad.

1967

June 3 :

Souvanna Phouma again reshuffled the government to bring in four pro-US elements.

August 26 :

A member of reactionaries hurled grenades at the billets of a company of the Lao People's Liberation Army which guarded the seat of the LPF representation in Vientiane.

September 29 :

Japanese Prime minister E. Sato arrived in Laos to discuss the sending of thousands of Japanese to Laos.

October 20 :

Souvanna Phouma left for the US to ask for a new US aid.

November 24 :

Right-wing troops supported by Thai troops launched large-scale operations on the Lao-Thai frontier.

1968

January :

According to the French review *Événement,* there were 12,000 American servicemen in Laos.

January 12 :

Liberation of Nam Bac (Upper Laos) by the LPLA.

January 17 :

Attack of the DRVN embassy in Vientiane by pro-US hooligans.

January 22 :

Thai Prime minister Thanom Kittikachorn officially recognized that US planes had taken off from Thailand to bomb Lao territory (AP — January 23).

March 8 :

USIS revealed that each month the Americans dropped 900 tons of rice, 200 tons of flour, wheat, salt, table oil and clothes to supply the bandits in positions illegally set up in the liberated zone.

March 11 :

Thai Foreign minister Thanat Khoman declared that Thailand did not rule out the possibility of intervening in Laos if need be.

June 12 :

Souvanna Phouma reshuffled the high command of Lao troops to make it more reactionary.

August 24 :

1,000 Vientiane functionaries were sent to four military training centres in Luang Phabang, Vientiane, Savannakhet and Pakse.

September 11 :

The Lao « National Assembly » passed a draft budget, half of which being devoted, to military expenditure and mopup operations.

October 31 :

On the basis of the policy of national salvation and national construction, the Extraordinary Congress of the LPF worked out a 12-point Political Program, stressing a sacred and imperious task : to smash US « special war » and neo-colonialism, overthrow the traitors to build a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos.

November 11 :

The Souvanna Phouma administration signed an agreement with the Japanese to enlarge the Wattay airfield for military needs.

1969

January 14 :

The LPLA attacked a big US munitions-depot in Vientiane. One-third of the dump was destroyed, its explosions causing an earthquake in the capital.

March 21 :

US defence Secretary Melvin Laird declared that since 1965, the US command in South Viet Nam had been allo-

wed to conduct military operations in Laos in the framework of « preemptive strike ».

August :

The Vientiane administration arrested several functionaries of the DRVN embassy and the correspondent of the Viet Nam News Agency in Vientiane.

The US aggressors and their stooges launched operation Kou Kiet to encroach upon the liberated zone of Xieng Khouang-Plain of Jars.

October 20 :

A special subcommittee of the US Senate began hearing a report on the US intervention in Laos.

October 21 :

Souvanna Phouma declared that during his visit to the US in October 1969, he had tacitly agreed with Washington that his administration continued to enjoy US aid.

December 15 :

The US Senate passed a resolution banning the introduction of US troops in Laos and Thailand.

1970

February 21 :

The LPLA recovered the Plain of Jars — Xieng Khouang area, wiping out over 6,000 Vientiane soldiers, Vang Pao bandits and Thai mercenaries.

February 1 :

US air raids in Laos doubled as compared with 1969. The number of sorties taking off from seven US strategic bases in Thailand reached some days up to 1,500.

March 6 :

The LPF put forward a five-point solution based on the 12-point Political Program for the settlement of the Lao problem on the basis of the 1962 Geneva Agreement and the concrete realities obtaining in the country.

March 8 :

The White House confirmed that an infantry captain (J. Bush) and 26 other Americans had been killed in military operations in Laos. The US command in Saigon received the order to publish the losses in men and planes of the USAF in Laos.

March 10 :

Colonel Pradith Thieng Tham arrived in Vientiane to hand to Prince Souvanna Phouma a letter by Prince Souphanouvong on the LPF Declaration of March 6.

March 20 :

The White House admitted that Thailand had intervened in Laos.

April 24 :

A delegation of the Lao Patriotic Front participated in the Indochinese Peoples' Summit Conference. The Conference unanimously passed a common Declaration which stressed the firm will of the Lao, Vietnamese and Khmer peoples to strengthen their solidarity and intensify their struggle against the US imperialist aggressors and their stooges until complete victory.

April 29 :

Liberation of Attopeu.

The Meeting of the World Peace Council Presidium held

in Moscow passed a resolution supporting the just struggle of the Lao people against US imperialism.

May 9:

Three pilots of the Vientiane air force: Lieutenant Boun Mi Sisattanak, Sublieutenants Vilay Khan Manivong and Sivay Outhachak flew to the liberated zone on a CH 34 helicopter. They made a common statement castigating the Vientiane reactionary government.

May 17:

A week of solidarity of the world peoples with the Lao people. US State Secretary R. Rogers declared: « The US is contemplating the introduction of US combat forces into Laos. »

May 18:

The US Defence Secretary Melvin Laird admitted that « the US infantry has entered Laos during its missions. »

May 19:

International Conference of Support to the Lao people in Cairo.

June 6:

Extraordinary Conference between the LPF and the Alliance of Patriotic Neutralist Forces.

June 9:

Liberation of Salavane.

July 13:

Organization of a Month of struggle against US aggression in response to the support movement by world peoples to the Lao people's resistance against US imperialism.

July 15 :

The 1,500 the US plane was downed in Laos since May 17, 1964.

July 18 :

The World Trade-Union Conference of Solidarity with the Indochinese Toilers and peoples in Paris issued a declaration backing the Lao people's struggle against US imperialism.

The meeting of the Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of Afro-Asian Peoples in Cairo, the Conference of the World Peace Council in Helsinki, the Congress of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers issued declarations in support of the Lao people's struggle against US aggression.

July 20 :

Publication of the LPF memorandum denouncing the US imperialists who intensified the « special war » in Laos. The memorandum reiterated the LPF five-point proposals of March 6, 1970 for a political solution of the Lao problem.

July 31 :

Tiao Souk Vongsak, a member of the LPF Central Committee arrived in Vientiane. As a special envoy of Prince Souphanouvong, he handed to Prince Souvanna Phouma a letter by the LPF president and discussed with Souvanna Phouma on the modalities of a next meeting between the plenipotentiaries of the two princes so as to organize a meeting between the different Lao parties to settle the Lao problem.

August 7 :

The Central Commitee of the Alliance of the Patriotic Neutralist Forces made a declaration warmly hailing the initiatives of Prince Souphanouvong who had sent a message to Vientiane to explore with Prince Souvanna Phouma the possibility of a meeting between the Lao parties to find a solution to the Lao problem.

August 9 :

The US imperialists brought units of the Saigon army into the Salavane region (Lower Laos).

August 29 :

The US-puppets launched Operation Tha Nong Kiet with 30 battalions against the Plain of Jars.

Intensification of US bombings on Xieng Khouang province.

September 2 :

The spokesman of the LPF Central Committee made public a declaration protesting against the Vientiane administration which usurped the name of the Lao tripartite national union government to appoint a delegation to the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Lusaka (Zambia).

September 17 :

The US-puppets launched Operation Mang Kone (Dragon) with 11 battalions under US command against the liberated zone north and northwest of Attopeu (Lower Laos).

October 1 :

Signing of a Laos-Cuba joint communique on the occasion of a friendship visit to Cuba by a Lao delegation led

by Phoumi Vongvichit, secretary-general of the LPF Central Committee. The communique condemned the US aggression against Laos and demanded from the American an unconditional cessation of their bombings in Laos.

October 12:

Big meetings of the population in all major centres of the liberated zone to commenmorate the 25 th anniversary of the Proclamation of Laos' Independence.

October 13:

Declaration of the spokesman of the LPF Central Committee refuting and condemning the fallacious allegations of peace contained in Nixon's speech on October 7.

October 14:

Declaration of the spokesman of the Hifh Command of the Lao People's Liberation Army sternly condemning the US imperialists who transferred several B.52s from Okinawa to Utapao Thai-US air base so as to bomb Lao territory.

November 5:

Declaration of the spokesman of the LPF Central Committee condemning the US imperialists who intensified the bombing of the Lao liberated zone by B.52 superbombers.

November 9:

Declaration by Khamsouk Keola, president of the Alliance of Lao Patriotic Neutralist Forces condemning the intensification by the US imperialists of their aggressive war against Laos.

November 11 :

The High Command of the Lao People's Liberation Army made the balance-sheet of victories during the rainy season in Laos : 7,000 enemies put out of action (including 20 battalions, 6 companies, 8 platoons, 4,000 weapons seized or destroyed, 73 aircraft downed).

— The 9th Conference of Solidarity of Afro-Asian Peoples held in Tripoli (Libya) adopted a resolution unreservedly supporting the struggle of the Vietnamese, Lao and Khmer peoples against US aggression.

— Conference between the Permanent Bureau of the LPF Central Committee and the Permanent Bureau of the Alliance of Patriotic Neutralist Forces.

November 22 :

A German delegation led by Horst Brash, a member of the Central Committee of the German Socialist Unity Party visited the Lao liberated zone from November 23 to 30.

— A delegation led by General Singkapo, a member of the LPF Central Committee, participated in the works of the International Conference on the war crimes of the US imperialists in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia held in Stockholm from November 28 to 30. The Conference adopted a resolution demanding the immediate withdrawal of US troops from Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia.

— Declaration of the spokesman of the LPF Central Committee condemning the sending by the US imperialists of Lon Nol troops to Lower Laos.

December 13 :

The High Command of the Lao People's Liberation Army issued an order of the day to the LPLA officers and

men calling on them to intensify their fight against the US-puppets so as to win still more brilliant victories during the 1970-1971 dry season.

December 29 :

The US Congress passed a draft bill banning the dispatch of US armymen to Laos.

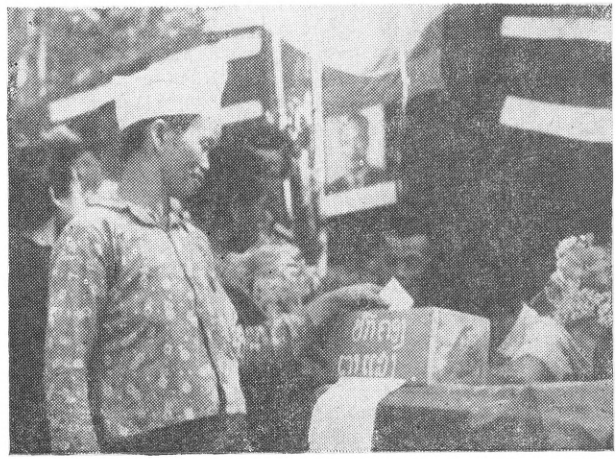
December 31 :

Balance-sheet of the LPLA victories during 1970 : the LPLA put out of action about 30,000 enemies including 310 Thai mercenaries, 160 Saigon soldiers, 307 Vientiane officers, collected over 8,500 weapons of all kinds (more than twice the 1969 booty), destroyed 238 military vehicles including 15 tanks, captured or destroyed 325 radio-sets, sank 27 launches and military boats, set afire over 200,000 litres of gasoline, downed or wrecked on the ground 377 aircraft. The LPLA liberated many people and recovered important strategic regions such as the Plain of Jars — Xieng Khouang, Attopeu and Salavane.

Prince Souphanouvong among children

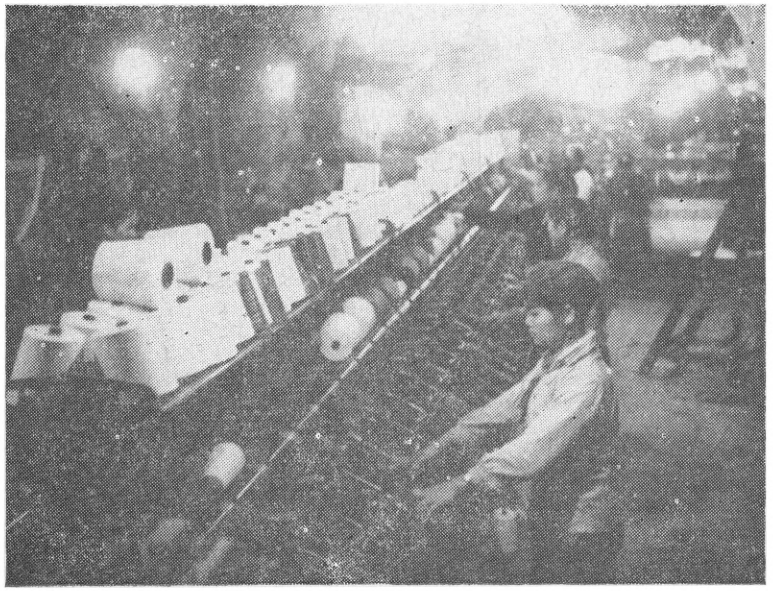
Demonstration against U.S. aggression in Laos

The Lao people in the liberated zone are masters of their fate.



A bumper harvest

A weaving workshop in Samneua.



Hospital in an anti-air raid shelter.

A primary school

MILITARY, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS (1945 – 1970)

I. — ARMED STRUGGLE

(August 1945 — August 1970)

The Lao patriotic forces:

— put out of action 187,643 enemies
including: -95,847 killed;
-40,340 wounded;
-51,456 captured.

— collected 67,021 weapons of various kinds and wrecked hundreds of thousands of weapons and war means.

— downed or destroyed 1,541 aircraft

— liberated two-thirds of the territory with half of the population.

These figures are broken down as follows:

a) Nine years of resistance war against the French colonialists (August 1945 — July 1954):

— put out of action: 38,071 enemies

— collected: 14,525 weapons.

b) Sixteen years of resistance against the US imperialists' intervention and aggression (August 1954 — August 1970):

— put out of action: 149,572 enemies

— collected: 52,596 weapons

— downed or destroyed: 1,526 aircraft (one-fifth of them by small arms from May 17, 1964 to August 31,1970).

II. — BUILDING AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE LIBERATED ZONE

Building and consolidation of the administration and the Front:

— Administration: the liberated zone comprises 12 provinces, 60 districts, 600 villages and nearly 10,000 hamlets. It lies at one stretch from Phongsaly province (northernmost) to Attopeu province (southernmost).

— The National Conference of Political Alliance held in October 1965 has strengthened the unity of views and alliance in action between the Lao Patriotic Front and the Alliance of Patriotic Neutralist Forces in the struggle against US aggression and the building of the liberated zone. In October 1968, the Lao Patriotic Front convened an extraordinary congress which adopted a 12-point political program, and on March 6, 1970, it put forward a 5-point political solution to the Lao problem, which has enjoyed a warm approval in the country and abroad.

— Over the past years, many delegations of the Lao Patriotic Front and the Lao Patriotic Neutralist Forces have made friendship visits to the socialist countries and

peaceloving countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and have attended many international and regional conferences.

Meanwhile, many government, front, mass organization, journalist, cinematographer, reporter-photograph and artist delegations from other countries have visited the liberated zone of Laos.

III. — ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL BUILDING

The escalation of the US war of aggression with its fierce bombings has not prevented the organization and development of various branches, like industry, agriculture, finances, trade, education, security, health worth, information, culture, social affairs... as well as administration from the centre down to the bases, which has ensured the success of the struggle by the Lao Army and people against US aggression and for the building of the liberated zone.

1. *Hydraulics :* The irrigation network rapidly developed from 1965 to 1970, the irrigated area expanding from 30 to 35 per cent on the average each year. More than 400 junior and secondary cadres were trained.

2. *Farming and livestock breeding :* Since 1966, food output has steadily increased. In particular, the land under summer rice has rapidly expanded. Grown as an experiment in Sam Neua in 1963-1964, summer rice has gradually been planted in 11 provinces, especially on a large scale in Sam Neua, Xieng Khouang, Udomsay, Phongsaly, Nam Tha and Borikhamsay provinces. As a result, the acreage under summer rice in 1969-1970 incre-

ased 12 times as compared with 1963-1964. The production of other subsidiary crops (maize, sweet potato, cassava...) has shot up, actively contributing to curb chronic famine, especially among the minorities. Thanks to the development of production, the people's living conditions have been improved; in 1968 contributions to the resistance were up by 52 per cent as against 1967.

Animal husbandry has been boosted. For Sam Neua province, the number of buffaloes rose by 2.3 per cent, that of oxen by 5 per cent, and that of poultry by 1.6 per cent in 1968 compared with 1967. In Udomsay (Northwestern Laos) the herd of buffaloes increased by 6 per cent, that of oxen by 4 per cent, that of hogs by 26 per cent, and that of poultry 15 per cent.

3. *Small industry and handicrafts:* In implementation of the watchword « to rely on one's own strength » despite a fierce war, small industry and handicraft have been restored and developed. At the beginning of 1970, the liberated zone had about 50 establishments: smithery, engineering, weaving, rice-husking, pottery, repair works, drug-making.... Traditional handicraft has been restored, gradually meeting the requirements of the people's life in the conditions of the resistance: manufacture of tools and instruments for cottongrowing, weaving, smithery, salt production... Salt output in Udomsay, Phongsaly, Nam Tha... has rapidly increased.

4. *Trade:* State-run trade has also rapidly developed. The liberated zone has hundreds of state stores, roving marketing groups and marketing co-operatives. Even the remote regions are supplied with staple products. The

prices of goods have been stabilized. The value of the « kip » (paper money of the liberated zone) has been enhanced.

5. *Communications and transport* have developed to better serve fighting and production. Despite the destructions of the US imperialists and their lackeys, supply and transport have been ensured, thus satisfying the requirements of the battlefield and the development of production. From early 1968 to June 1970, apart from the repair of thousands of kilometres of roads, 1,500 kilometres of highways and thousands of kilometres of paths leading to the mountain regions have been built, while tributary rivers have also been exploited. The use of both modern and rudimentary transport means has been increased. Transport by motor-cars in 1970 is ten times over the 1962 figure.

6. *The educational branch has developed at a rapid tempo.*

— *Public education, general education:* Under the French domination, the whole of Laos had only one junior high school and six primary schools. 95 percent of the population was illiterate.

Over the past five years, in the liberated zone, nearly 2,000 schools have been destroyed by US planes. In spite of difficulties, there were two senior high schools, 20 junior high schools, more than 2,000 primary schools with 69,000 pupils and 4,000 teachers for the 1969-1970 school year. Apart from 2 centrally-run teachers' schools for elementary and secondary education (with 1,233 teachers), there are many other vocational schools (public health,

agriculture, irrigation, trade, post, press...) with thousands of students. All the provinces in the liberated zone have their own teachers' school.

The educational service has published textbooks with national and progressive contents. The Lao language is used in all schools. An index of scientific terms in Lao has been issued.

— *Complementary education:* over 60,000 adults attend literacy courses. Illiteracy has been liquidated in 40 villages (two of Lao Soung) and 650 hamlets, (15 of Lao Soung and 20 of Lao Theung). 2,000 adults receive complementary education in 70 schools reserved for cadres and youths of various nationalities, while in the areas under the US-puppet temporary control, illiteracy still prevails. Lao Soung (Meo) script has been popularized in nine provinces inhabited by this nationality. Books in Lao Soung have been published. Thousands of people are freed from illiteracy each year.

7. *Public health:* Under French domination (1942), the whole of Laos had only 224 hospital beds, one doctor, one pharmacist, and each hospital had but one assistant doctor and a few nurses of Lao nationality.

At present, the liberated zone has over 2,000 hospital beds (not to mention army hospitals), 20 doctors and pharmacists (among them eight women), 138 assistant doctors, over 2,000 nurses, 5,425 health activists, and 46 roving medical groups.

A network of medical service to prevent and treat diseases has been set up from the centre down to the bases. No epidemic has been observed in the past years. A number of chronic and venereal diseases is being actively combated.

Along with western medicine, traditional medicine has also known a rapid development. With local material, scores of drugs have been prepared.

8. *Folkloric culture :* Mass cultural activities are flourishing. Besides the art troupe, circus troupe, film-projection teams belonging to the central administration, the LPF and the army, each province and district has its own art troupe and roving film-projection teams. Schools and hospitals also have amateur art troupes.

Artistic festivals have been organized to foster the actors and choose the best creations. The number is growing of works with a national colour and rich contents reflecting the fighting and production of the army and people.

The « Lao Haksat » and army publishing houses have printed millions of textbooks, theoretical, and general interest works, news bulletins and papers to meet the requirements of cadres, armymen and the population.